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McCarthy and His Peers

New Republic

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T. R. B.

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Washington Wire

"Peace and prosperity" is the GOP election slogan this year and it sounds good. It is a conservative appeal, and it fits into the historic alternation between American political trends. After 20 years of foreign adventure and domestic social reform under the Democrats, the country voted for Ike in 1952 to reverse matters and get us "back to normalcy." It was not expressed in quite that way, but the yearning to struggle back somehow to wistful old days of peace, low taxes and the status quo was a motivating force for millions. The election this Fall decides whether the trend continues.

The GOP in two years has continued some New Deal reforms and even extended a few, but there can be no doubt that this is a businessman's administration. This is pleasing to Eisenhower, but it is doubtful whether Ike fully understands what is going on. He has a sort of Abilene philosophy of 40 years ago that hardly fits into present circumstances. His effort, for instance, to get the big GOP vested interests to accept low tariffs has been earnest, rather pathetic and wholly unsuccessful. Tariffs create special privileges for certain classes and it is the distribution of privileges—whether to favored groups over off-shore oil, taxes, tariffs, power franchises or relaxation of the anti-trust laws—which is the essence of the Administration. Anyone who studies American history sees this alternating pattern endlessly repeated. The normalcy of the Federalists is interrupted by Jackson; in our own day FDR interrupted it.

The Roosevelt social revolution was put into one capsule statistic, expressed by no less a person than Dr. Arthur F. Burns, now the chief White House economic adviser. In 1929 the top 5 percent of the population, he pointed out, received 34 percent of the total disposable individual income, but only 15 percent in 1946. The millionaire group had lost nothing in cash, since the two chunks of national income were about the same in actual dollars, but their share was cut in half proportionately. In the FDR era the extremities of rich and poor were abated, the greatest single social change of the generation. Look at it any way, this was revolution, though bloodless.

The Eisenhower Administration probably does not know it, but its historic job is to put this inequality back again. How else can it satisfy the big money interests that comprise it? That is why GOP has two or three times the campaign cash this Fall as the Democrats, and pretty well controls the one-party press. In the debate over the graduated income tax Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey wanted an equal slash for rich and poor alike, say 10 percent. This was "equality," argued Mr. Humphrey, an able and honorable conservative. It is the same equality before the law which Voltaire once ridiculed, the "equality" which forbade both rich and poor alike to sleep under bridges! It has been said that there is no greater inequality than to treat unequal persons equally. In that sense there has been a good deal of "equality" in the first two Eisenhower years. If the GOP wins the Fall election, this big movement should really start rolling.

The late Congress continued and widened the special oil tax depletion allowance loophole that has produced America's first crop of billionaires. H. L. Hunt, with $2 billion, is now probably the world's richest man. Sid Richardson, Clint Murchison, Hugh Cullen, all of Texas, follow in that order. They make Rockefellers and Morgans and respective beneficiaries of earlier "business" administrations, look like pikers. The usual cycle in these matters is for the give-away process to go on until it produces an attack of acute economic indigestion. A more sophisticated electorate in 1954 may not wait for that cycle to be completed this year.

One of the most fascinating things to watch now is the merger movement in big business. The Administration has relaxed anti-trust restrictions originally designed to protect small business and require competition. Nearly every week some huge new giant is proposed or effected—the Chemical Bank of New York, and the Corn Exchange Trust Co.; Bethlehem Steel and Youngstown Sheet & Tube; Chrysler and Briggs; Nash and Hudson; Studebaker and Packard; Burlington Mills and Pacific Mills. And so on. A Republican like Edward Howrey, Ike's appointee as chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, symbolizes the trend. He is quoted as saying he is only "in general sympathy" with the laws protecting small business which he is supposed to enforce.

Back in 1938 FDR set up the TNEC (Temporary National Economic Committee) declaring, "Among us today a concentration of private power without equal in history is growing." It is amusing to read through the TNEC's 1941 report in the light of the Administration's big business philosophy today. With shocked amazement the TNEC laid bare the facts of concentrated private economic power. Big business collectivism, it asserted, ultimately produces government collectivism; it noted wryly that even the most monopolistic businessman disapproves of all monopolies but his own; it declared "inadequate" safeguards now being whittled away.

Just to give you a taste of the climate of those bad old days here is a quotation: "We know that most of the wealth and income of the country is owned by a few large corporations, that these corporations in turn are owned by an infinitesimally small number of people and that the profits from the operations of these corporations go to a very small group with the result that the opportunities for new enterprise, whether corporate or individual, are constantly being restricted."

Subversive, eh? Yes, that was a long time ago, before the big modern business view. Since then we have had the oil billionaires, the Merger Era, the "equality" of tax laws. We have had Eisenhower. We have come a long way. We have come back to Normalcy.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Hear No Evil, See No Evil, Speak No Evil

DEMOCRATS intend to push the "Dixon-Yates Deal" very hard during the coming campaign. Their National Committee Chairman, Stephen A. Mitchell, already has laid the groundwork by challenging President Eisenhower to justify his unprecedented action in over-riding the protests of two independent government agencies—the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Atomic Energy Commission—by ordering them to sign a power contract with a specified private company: Middle South Utilities, Inc. (Dixon-Yates). Why, ask the Democrats, does the Administration prefer to pay for, then give away to a private company, a power plant the TVA is prepared to build for $140 million less government money? Why, if this is justifiable, was the usual method of competitive bidding rejected, and one particular private firm singled out in the Presidential directive? The answer, they feel, is that special-interest pleaders have penetrated as far as a branch of the Office of the President—the Bureau of the Budget—and that the President's handling of the matter clearly shows his inability to protect the public interest. Their case seems stronger every day.

First is the fact that TVA needs 600,000 more kilowatts a year to supply its customers in the Memphis, Tennessee, area. So it requested funds to build a new plant. The Army Engineers surveyed the area and chose Fulton, Missouri, as the best site. The Dixon-Yates combine was quickly put together and advanced a counter-proposal to build a substitute plant across the river from Fulton at West Memphis, Arkansas, and to sell power to TVA—if the government paid construction costs, federal, state and local taxes, and guaranteed a profit for 25 years. Former Director of the Budget Joseph M. Dodge, his successor Rowland Hughes and Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams waxed enthusiastic. Dixon-Yates people appeared in the Bureau of the Budget and began to help draft memoranda.

How did the AEC get involved? TVA does not have the authority to sign 25-year contracts. The AEC did—for its plant at Paducah, Kentucky. So AEC was brought in ostensibly to buy Dixon-Yates electricity for its Paducah plant—which is 200 miles away from the Dixon-Yates station and has plenty of power. AEC in fact will buy power from Dixon-Yates then sell it to TVA for use in the Memphis area.

The result *of all this is a lunatic arrangement:* the Dixon-Yates site is below flood level on bottomland—dikes and unusually expensive foundations must be built, at government expense (the TVA site across the river is on a 100-foot high bluff); and it is on the wrong side of the river—transmission lines must be strung across the Mississippi to get the power to where it can be used, and TVA must pay one-half the cost, $9 million.

All this and more caused three of the five AEC Commissioners and the TVA administration to oppose the deal. Yet later, at a press conference, Eisenhower revealed that he knew nothing of their strong opposition And when, at Democratic Chairman Mitchell's insistence, the Bureau of the Budget made public its records on this matter, the reason became clear. The original protesting language of the AEC Commissioners—"awkward," "unbusinesslike," "irrelevant to the mission of the AEC"—had, in the Bureau of the Budget's report to the President, become "Acceptance of this utility offer will be agreeable to the AEC if . . . determined by higher authority." The TVA's protest was ignored, not even acknowledged until August 17, the day Eisenhower ordered the Bureau to release its records, 47 days after submitted. Two Senators, Republican Sherman Cooper of Kentucky and Democrat Clinton Anderson of New Mexico, each spent a full day waiting in a White House ante-room trying to get in and tell the President what was going on. Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams kept them out.

When Mitchell criticized the Administration for its handling of the "Dixon-Yates scandal," the Republican Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Rep. W. Sterling Cole of New York, dared him to testify on the matter. Mitchell accepted, but the hearings were postponed. No one knew why. Democrats claimed the Republicans wanted to get the Dixon-Yates contract signed first. Then, in support of that claim, it was revealed that a few days before Cole postponed the hearings, TVA had written the Bureau of the Budget a letter flatly stating it would not go along with the contract until it knew more about it. Seems that only selected parts of the proposed contract had been sent to TVA and its corrections of statistical errors in the contract ignored.

In the meantime, a New York combine, formed by Walter Von Tresckow,

What do you figure this one would cost?

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which had tried to compete with Dixon-Yates and had not been allowed to bid, claimed that the Bureau of the Budget had "deliberately" misrepresented the Dixon-Yates proposal and prepared to back up the charge with figures.

All of which is ammunition for the Democrats. Eisenhower in the past often has shown himself mis- or un-informed on important issues. But few of the matters involved were of interest to the general public. This one could be; the Democrats are determined it will be.

The Balance of Dollars

THE Republican Finance Committee has raised one-third of the $3.8 million national campaign fund it will spend between now and November 3.

The Democrats, as usual, lag far behind financially. The trickle of contributions which had come into national headquarters in Washington as of September 1 made even the modest goal of $1 million for '54, set by Democratic Chairman Stephen Mitchell, appear unlikely of achievement.

Contributions from the national parties to individual candidates for Congress as a rule are transmitted through Democratic and Republican House and Senate Campaign Committees. The party organizations raise funds and give them to the Congressional Campaign Committees to hand out where they will do the most good. Republicans consistently report spending many times the sums available to Democrats: In 1952 the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee disbursed $781,558, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, $84,482; in campaigns for the House the Republican Campaign Committee spent $1,707,574, its Democratic equivalent, $19,000. This year that story is not much changed.

The Democratic National Committee began 1953, after Stevenson's defeat, with a deficit of $251,000. By January 1954, this debt had been reduced to $93,000. As of September 1 the deficit had climbed back to $170,000. But Committee records show that during the year it has provided $221,000 to the House and Senate Democratic Campaign Committees for 1954 election work. Not all of the $221,000, however, was in ready cash. Expenses of the year-round Campaign Committee staffs—totalling together more than $100,000 is counted in that figure. And a considerable part of the remainder of the war chest was in what are called "state exchange funds"—that is, contributions sent in by state Democratic organizations to meet their "quotas," on the understanding that these funds will be immediately returned to the donor states for campaign use locally. When running expenses were deducted and "exchange funds" returned, about two-thirds of the $221,000 nest egg was gone.

The Senate Campaign Committee, which does not rely on the National Democratic Committee as its sole supply of money to put into the hands of candidates, set out on its own. With Stuart Symington of Missouri as Treasurer, the Senate Committee has already raised close to $100,000, and Symington and other talented money-raisers on the Committee will keep the telephones hot asking for more money to send out to the candidates from now until the elections in November.

The Democratic National Committee hopes to give the Congressional committees considerably more campaign cash before November 3 also. September 17 will be Democratic Dollar Day all over the country, as pairs of women go door-to-door. A test mailing to registered Democrats, soliciting small contributions, is now in process; if successful, a mass mail drive for funds will be tried during October. Another $100 dinner, with Adlai Stevenson and Harry Truman as attractions, will be held in Indianapolis on September 18. The Party hopes to clear $50,000 on that. A series of $10 dinners are planned in many states to raise money (50-50) for local candidates and the national party. If all these methods work, Democratic Chairman Mitchell may get within shooting distance of the $1 million he hopes the Democrats can invest in 1954.

No Giant Steps

THE SOUTH has taken a few steps toward ending segregation in public schools, but not many. On May 17 the US Supreme Court ruled the practice unconstitutional and asked the 17 states, and the District of Columbia, which have segregation laws to appear voluntarily in October and offer advice on how best to end it. Four, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana, have indicated they will dodge whatever order the Court may issue—the first two by changing public to private schools, the last two by invoking police powers to maintain the "good health and morals" of their citizens. The other 13 states, and D. C., seem willing to go along with the ruling.

As of August 31, 23 cities and towns, and one county, in West Virginia, Missouri, Arkansas, Maryland and Delaware had begun integrating their school systems. And the nation's capital plans to have its entire system revamped when schools open this year. St. Louis, Baltimore and Kansas City are the only other major cities now planning completely integrated public schools by 1955.

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Reports from the Campaigns

Texas:

CAPITALIZING on racial and economic fears, Governor Allan Shivers of Texas held onto his seat for an unprecedented third term by defeating Judge Ralph Yarborough by 92,000 votes in the run-off Democratic primary. Yarborough had strong rural, labor, and minority group support to poll 681,000 votes, while Shivers, with solid business, Republican and oil industry support, polled 773,000.

It looked for a time as though Judge Yarborough might win, but in the closing 10 days, the Shivers organization put on a radio, TV, newspaper and direct mail blitz capitalizing on these two fear appeals:

1. That Negroes will enter the public schools under the US Supreme Court decision. Shivers promised over and over that as long as he is governor, white and Negro children will not be forced to attend school together.

2. That the CIO was going to organize the employees of farmers, ranchers and small business. This was dramatized by top-notch TV films about a strike in Port Arthur started by the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers last December, and taken over by national CIO a few weeks later. Small businessmen were circularized with letters from Port Arthur merchants who were behind picket lines. The TV film showed Negro and white pickets together, combining the racial and the economic fears to break small business and some farmers away from the farm-labor coalition which put Yarborough in the run-off.

In the run-off, Yarborough increased his vote by 40,000, but Shivers was increasing his by 60,000. Three days before the run-off, each camp had reported the expenditure of nearly $220,000. Guesses were that actual totals would run nearer $2 million for Shivers and $500,000 for Yarborough.

Yarborough pitched his campaign on party regularity, opposition to a third term, and integrity in office. He brought out that Shivers' political lieutenant, John Van Cronkhite, had collected $11,000 to keep a bankrupt insurance company in business, and that state printing contracts had been awarded to a firm in which the Shivers family held stock.

Shivers countered that he had supported Eisenhower in 1952 in order to get the tidelands back for the school children of Texas, and won an Attorney General's ruling that he had disposed of his stock in the printing company in 1951, before it had any state contracts, even though the firm's manager had sworn to the Post Office Department as recently as last fall that Mrs. Shivers still owned stock.

President Eisenhower phoned his con-

gratulations to Shivers, and National Republican Chairman Leonard Hall said he was pleased, that it shows that you can't be against Ike and get elected, even in Texas. Actually, Shivers never mentioned Ike during his campaign, nor did he mention voting Republican. He merely said that he had "voted Texan," and that if Yarborough were elected, it would mean turning Texas over to the CIO-PAC, NAACP, Communists and other out-of-state interests.

Texas Republicans, who talked so glowingly in 1952 of making Texas a two-party state, dropped their ambitious plans when it became obvious that Shivers was in trouble in the Democratic primary. Only 9,300 Republicans voted in their primary July 24, the rest going into the Democratic primary to help Shivers, who had helped them carry Texas in 1952. On August 28, the run-off primary, there was no GOP run-off, so the other 9,300 were free to move into the Democratic primary to help win the run-off.

Pennsylvania:

IN THE BROAD, fertile plain between the Eastern slopes of the Appalachians and the Delaware River Valley, be-whiskered Pennsylvania Dutch farmers have characterized the decline of dairy and poultry prices by the phrase, "The cream is all, but the milk is yet." Literally, it means that the cream is gone but some milk is left. In a figurative sense, however, it bemoans the end of the fat years. And ever since retiring Republican Governor John S. Fine told the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association in February that the business upturn had arrived, Democrats have had a campaign issue.

The Democrats' "hard times" candidate, George M. Leader, has devoted the past three months to charging the Fine administration with indifference to and ignorance of the plight of "250,000 unemployed and the loss of a billion dollars in payrolls."

Leader, a scholarly, 36-year-old poultry farmer from York, and an Adlai Stevenson Democrat with visions of economic reform, opposes Lieutenant-Governor Lloyd H. Wood, 57, a ponderous, jowly politician who raises turkeys. Wood became the GOP choice for Governor in a compromise between the Eisenhower and Taft wings of the party which have been battling since the 1952 national convention.

Since registered Republicans outnumber Democrats in a ratio of three to two in the Keystone state, the election of a Democratic Governor is improbable under normal circumstances. In fact, the Democrats have been able to elect only one Governor since 1890. Circumstances, of course, were not normal when George E. Earle rode into office on a wave of New Deal enthusiasm in 1934. But neither are they normal now. There is unemployment in the mill towns and the coal fields. Unemployment in the five anthracite counties of East-Central Pennsylvania ranges from 15 to 22.3 percent of the total labor force. In the Pittsburgh District, the depression breadline has re-appeared as federal surplus food distribution.

Leader claims to have the cure for Pennsylvania's economic ills. His remedy: a program of diversification of industry aided and promoted by the state to absorb unemployment in stricken, one-industry areas. Democrats point with pride to Pittsburgh, where Mayor David Lawrence, Democratic National Committeeman from Pennsylvania, has piloted the most dramatic redevelopment program in the nation.

Leader was hand-picked for Governor by Mayor Lawrence and District Attorney Richardson Dilworth of Philadelphia. Dilworth ran against Fine in

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1950 and lost by 80,000 votes, a comparatively narrow margin in Pennsylvania. As Democrats see it, these were farm votes. They believe farmer Leader can pick up many of them this time, while the regular Democratic organization carries the big cities.

Minnesota:

NR has described (April 26 and August 2) the extent to which both parties plan to use women as campaign helpers this year. In Minnesota, where Sen. Hubert Humphrey fights this fall, the Democratic women already have pushed their organization drive a long way. "Somewhere in Minnesota," reads a late-August newsletter of the Minnesota Women for Humphrey, "is a woman who is going to receive a pink camellia from the Senator. She will be the one thousandth member." In June there were 250 Women for Humphrey; now, 985. A thousand is a certainty, and by election time, there probably will be many more. Tribute to the power of a pink camellia.

For the ladies are being unashamedly feminine—and enjoying it. No longer do they take their cue from the male. The look is "soft": stationery is pink; membership cards, shimmery; and the membership buttons, smart. The brochures feature pictures, not of a grim and statesmanlike Humphrey, but of a family: Humphrey, his wife, daughter, and three sons—in action and looking happy. There is a workbook—pink also—with detailed and "savvy" instructions on how to organize, work and win votes in the most pleasant, feminine, neighborly way possible. The coffee hour—as predicted—is key, along with "backfence" chatting. Coffee hours will be for just a few ladies at a time; but each will be urged to give one too—with a snow-balling effect. Sometimes there will be a recorded speech by the Senator, sometimes a TV or radio appearance, once in awhile the Senator himself, and very, very often Mrs. Humphrey—who is scheduled to drink a lot of coffee. Every hostess giving such a party will make sure that the local editor knows about it—and woe to him who ignores her. Each member is pledged to keep an old sugar bowl on the coffee table, to drop a penny in it every day—"A penny a day to help Humphrey stay."

The ladies are determined, seem to be having a good time, and will probably be very effective.

London Dispatch Cyprus before the UN

Now that Greece has formally raised the Cyprus dispute at the United Nations the British Government is in for some embarrassing moments. Superficially its case looks as bad over Cyprus as it did over Ireland after World War I; and by refusing to discuss the position either with Cypriots or with other interested parties Britain has thrown the worst possible light on its behavior. So it is as well that its predicament should be understood.

Four out of five of the half million inhabitants of Cyprus consider themselves Greek—and most of these want the island put under Greek sovereignty, though they would not object to Britain retaining her strategic bases there by treaty with the Greek Government.

In fact Cyprus has never been under Greek sovereignty. After three centuries in the Ottoman Empire Cyprus was occupied by Britain with Turkish agreement in 1878. In 1914 Britain annexed the island outright and gave its inhabitants British nationality. Oddly enough, in 1915 Britain tried unsuccessfully to bribe Greece into entering the war by offering her Cyprus. But once refused, the offer has never been repeated. Cyprus is now run by Britain as a Crown Colony—its inhabitants play only a secondary role in its government.

The movement for Enosis, or union with Greece began a century ago, largely under the leadership of the Greek Orthodox Church in the island. In recent years the Cyprus Communist Party has joined the Church leaders in demanding Enosis, though it would certainly suffer far worse under Greek rule than it does now under Britain. Greece herself did not play an active role in the campaign until a few months ago, when Britain's blank refusal even to discuss the matter with her produced popular pressure culminating in the decision to raise the matter at the United Nations. There is no doubt that by now Greeks both in Cyprus and in Athens feel passionately about Enosis, and unless tension can be eased, Cyprus may play as decisive a role in the Eastern Mediterranean as Trieste in the Adriatic.

But Britain is in a difficult position. The strategic base is more vital than ever to her after the evacuation of Suez; it is already chosen as the new headquarters of her Middle East Command. Moreover, concessions in Cyprus now would produce a series of demands from other parts of the Mediterranean. Franco recently renewed his demands for Gibraltar. Malta is in an awkward mood. The strongest argument the Tory rebels produced against the Suez agreement was that it would start a chain reaction against Britain all over the world. The Government cannot afford what might appear as "further weakness" over Cyprus.

Finally, any concession to Greece would infuriate Turkey and the 100,000 Turks on the island, thus endangering the Balkan Pact and NATO. Though Turkey has no claims on Cyprus herself, she would strongly oppose the island going to Greece.

It is felt widely in Britain that successive British Governments have grossly underestimated the importance of the Enosis movement, and have failed to seek popular support for the Commonwealth alternative. But the situation now has gone far beyond the possibility of repair by propaganda. And in view of the fact that similar problems may arise in some of Britain's other foreign bases, there is a strong case for using Cyprus as the proving ground for a new type of international base, responsibility for which is shared by all the countries benefiting from its existence. Certainly, even though on juridical grounds Britain refuses to discuss the matter at the United Nations, she would be wise to see whether a solution can be found through the more discreet and trustworthy machinery of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

It is a shocking symptom of the recent disintegration of the Atlantic Community that although all the countries interested in the Cyprus dispute are members of NATO, no attempt has been made to reach a settlement in NATO before throwing the issue to the United Nations.

London DENIS HEALEY, M. P.

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Senator McCarthy and His Peers

THE "ATMOSPHERE" will be "judicial," promised Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R, Utah), Chairman of the Senate Committee now studying censure charges against McCarthy. And when the hearings opened on August 31, Joe McCarthy sat, not with the other Senators, but at a small table facing them: six serious, calm men who turned on him the imperturbable, neutral gaze of judges. No acrobatic cameramen, no swinging television eyes, no hot lights, no noise.

For McCarthy, the atmosphere was unbearable. Immediately, in the strategically crucial, first session, he had to bid for control, to try and impose his personality upon these seemingly docile men. He tried three times.

First, McCarthy asked to make an opening statement. Copies already were in the hands of reporters. Although short, its purpose was the old one of presenting the hearings as somehow a struggle between McCarthy and all those "unwitting victims" or worse who "oppose a vigorous fight against Communism." Watkins said yes, the statement could be made, but—and McCarthy had failed in his first bid—"most of it is not relevant or material to the issues of this hearing . . . this is not a precedent to the reception of any testimony or evidence that is . . . incompetent." McCarthy's reading of his statement lacked its usual zest.

Bid number two was by Edward Bennett Williams, McCarthy's lawyer. As the Committee moved to consider the first of the five packets of charges against McCarthy, Williams asked that the entire charge be dismissed on the grounds that the 83rd Congress had no right to censure McCarthy for contempt of the 80th, 81st or 82nd Congresses. A "statute of limitations" plea. His appeal was to the Constitution—McCarthy did not want him to do this, said Williams, but he was going ahead anyway—and he prepared to dominate the rest of the hearing with a legal argument supporting his interpretation of the Constitution. He was just getting off the ground when Watkins shot him down, quietly asking him to submit a written "brief" instead. Williams protested, "this is the heart of our defense." Watkins said, all the more reason to submit it in writing first so the Committee could read it. Argument could come later. Williams again protested—and McCarthy's voice cut in with the familiar "Mr. Chairman . . . Mr. Chairman." Bang went the gavel and Watkins reminded McCarthy that either he *or* Williams could debate a matter, not both.

McCarthy made his third bid toward the end of the hearing, this time with a tactic that had never before failed him: attacking a Committee member. Late the previous evening, McCarthy and Williams had called to the attention of the Committee and the press a March 12 issue of the *Denver Post* which quoted Sen. Edwin C. Johnson (D, Colo.) as saying during a telephone interview, "In my opinion there is not a man among the Democratic leaders of Congress who does not loathe McCarthy . . . I do not think there are more than half a dozen Republicans who think McCarthy is all right." As the hearing was about to end, Johnson said that since this had come up he wanted to say that he felt he could serve on the Committee without prejudice. While not directly challenging Johnson's right to serve on the Committee, Williams tried to get the Committee to argue the point! The kind of thing which had repeatedly pulled the Army-McCarthy hearings away from the issues and thrown them into confusion. Apparently Watkins had learned. "Members of this Committee," he pointed out, "have been selected by the Senate itself; and this Committee has no authority . . . to remove any of its members, to consider any challenge to its membership . . . even to accept a resignation." So why should the Committee consider the point?

Williams persisted: "Are we not entitled" to ask Johnson some questions about the March 12 statements? Certainly, said Watkins, "you are entitled to." Ask him after the hearings.

McCarthy stepped in: "Just a minute, Mr. Chairman. Just one minute." Watkins ruled him out of order. But McCarthy, in the tone which so often had overwhelmed Chairman Mundt at the Army-McCarthy hearings, droned on. Watkins ruled him out of order again—"We are not going to be interrupted by these diversions"—and picked up the gavel. McCarthy talked on. The gavel beat a staccato until the voice broke in dismay. "The Committee will be in recess," said Watkins.

The next day and the next, McCarthy spoke not one word; Williams hardly a dozen. In Appellate Court style, the Committee read into the record documents bearing on the charges.

The record so far is one of calumny, of insults spoken and written, of contempt for men and the institutions they spoke for. And as it is read it becomes clear that McCarthy is in trouble. If Watkins continues, as he shows every sign of doing, to detect and block immediately any effort at side-tracking the hearings into a discussion of something besides the points at issue—(1) did McCarthy show contempt for the Senate, its Committees and (2) its members; (3) did he encourage government employees to violate the law and their oath of office; (4) did he receive confidential and classified information from the files of the Executive; (5) did he insult distinguished officers of the US Army—McCarthy is stymied. He has no case. He did all those things. He can only argue that it was proper for him to do them and that his actions did not reflect dishonor upon the Senate.

Watkins

So he will have to try something else. At the outset of the hearings, he stated that Williams had complete charge of the case. (Williams—young, 34, and a graduate of Holy Cross and Georgetown—has had considerable success as a criminal attorney during his 10 years before the bar; he failed, however, to win McCarthy's libel suit against former Democratic Sen. William Benton of Connecticut.) But this probably will be changed. McCarthy's strategy at the moment is to keep shouting about Johnson's "prejudice" and the Chairman's "unfairness," hoping to make the headlines, until he can dream up something else. He already has accused the staid, respected *Washington Star* of "completely false reporting," saying that would not be possible "with radio and TV."

He'll have to spring something soon. The Committee is moving along rapidly, and he cannot just sit back and let the record pile up. But if he does attack, he risks angering a Committee from which, if it maintains its dignity and composure, a recommendation for censure would carry a lot of weight.

TOM FITZSIMMONS

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Reappraising US World Policy

Six Leaders of World Opinion Assess Our Leadership

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LE FIGARO
Tahar ben Amar a remis sa liste
LE PIC K-2 deuxième sommet du monde
Un "Super-Constellation" d'Air France
Deutsche Zeitung
und Wirtschafts Zeitung
Der Ostblock kann zufrieden sein
IL NUOVO CORRIERE DELLA SERA
CONFERENZA A QUATTRO
INDONESIA RAYA
Dari „negara" Kolombo Pakistan jg. mau Seato

Contributors to this Forum:

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MOCHTAR LUBIS of Djakarta, editor of the independent leading nationalist newspaper *Indonesia Raya.*

THE PURPOSE of American foreign policy, Dean Acheson once said, is "to maintain and foster an environment in which our national life and individual freedom can survive and prosper." The means we have seen as central to this purpose is to create and develop a coalition of free nations whose interests are broadly similar to ours.

Coalitions of free nations turned back the aggressive designs of Louis XIV, Napoleon, the Kaiser and Hitler. In the postwar years a new worldwide coalition was built under the leadership of President Truman to turn back the threat of world Communism. Since then a principal objective of Soviet policy has been to break the coalition apart. All this of course is known. And to assert that the unity of the coalition must be maintained has for long been a favorite peroration among important Americans. To ask: on what basis of common assumptions and attitudes can it be maintained is a less popular but more important task.

"The leadership of a coalition of free people," Acheson added, "requires that the purposes and policies put forward are broad enough to embrace the interests of the whole group—or, at least, the vital, essential interests of the group." The binding force of our coalition has been the faith of other nations in the United States; in our ability to interpret and respect their vital interests; our continuity of purpose, our capacity to keep our economy fully employed and our continuing dedication to freedom.

So, with some reason, our friends and allies watched with concern as a party took office which repudiated much of the past and brought to the present an apparent change of heart. In fact, in all major essentials, the Eisenhower Administration continued the policies of the Truman Administration. More recently, however, these particular methods of maintaining the coalition have spent their force. Mr. Truman's Formosa policy is without a sound base since the ending of the Korean War. The military and economic aid programs have understandably been cut down. And now the EDC, made the cornerstone of the coalition's European policy at US insistence, has been repudiated by France. At the

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same time new challenges have risen from the Soviet world. The development of the hydrogen bomb, the conquest of Northern Viet-Nam, the solidification of Communist power in Eastern Europe and China, the pressure for recognition and trade all demand new responses from the leader of the coalition. The responses have not been forthcoming.

Accordingly, among experts in Washington the conviction has grown that US prestige has fallen sharply overseas; that Communist strategy has altered significantly since the Geneva Conference convened, and that a new appraisal of Western policy is urgently required, from which new policies may flow.

To check these convictions the *New Republic* wrote to a number of representative leaders of public opinion throughout the free world presenting four questions for their consideration. The first series of answers are presented below. Others will follow in later issues.

1. Do you sense a decline in American prestige in your country? If so, what are the principal reasons?

There has been a definite decline in American prestige in India over the past year. The principal reasons for these are: (a) the too didactic foreign policy of the Republican Administration which gives to the outside world a totally erroneous impression that America is on the warpath. The contradictory statements of Pentagon representatives like Admiral Radford and State Department representatives like Mr. Dulles naturally add to the confusion in the public mind abroad and lead to a quite unjustifiable suspicion of US bona-fides. This confusion is intensified by the frequent and contradictory interpolations of Senators Wiley and Knowland. The result of this babel was the diplomatic reverse suffered by America at Geneva which has done the democratic cause little good.

(b) A major element in the decline in American prestige abroad is Senator McCarthy. It is difficult for the outside world to understand how a creature such as this can, with impunity, attack the reputations of men like General George Marshall and Dr. Jessup and still be not merely tolerated but encouraged by certain elements of the American community. McCarthyism has also been responsible for identifying the tactic of witch-hunting with American politics and thereby suggesting to the outside world that America represents the Fascist counterpart to Communism whose methods McCarthyism seems to be adopting. The persecution of liberal intellectuals is particularly deplored.

FRANK MORAES, *Bombay, India*

A certain decline in American prestige is noticeable all over the world, including Italy. The immediate and superficial causes are the apparent lack of success of American foreign policy in recent years and the decreasing weight of the United States in international decisions.

LUIGI BARZINI JR., *Milan, Italy*

It depends, of course, on what time you start from. After the Second World War American prestige in Sweden has no doubt risen enormously, above all owing to the general opinion that only the United States can defend Western Europe against the Eastern Bloc. American literature and social sciences have also successively become more and more known and appreciated in Sweden. During the last few years criticism and distrust of the United States have, however, appeared to a greater extent owing to well-known circumstances. I believe that the reasons are on the whole the same as those which make the best newspapers and periodicals of the United States criticize American affairs. Partly we sense that American foreign policy under Eisenhower and Dulles is more jerky and less consistent than earlier; parenthetically I can mention that during the Presidential campaign in 1952 Stevenson was extremely popular in Sweden also among rather conservative people. Partly and above all the difference is caused by the appearance of McCarthy and everything connected with that; reports of intervention against teachers at universities and schools in different states and many other things. It is a matter of course that the decision of the Supreme Court banning segregation in public schools has worked in another direction.

HERBERT TINGSTEN, *Stockholm, Sweden*

2. How do you define prestige?

If you mean the prestige of power, the prestige of the United States is nowise in decline; on the contrary it is at its peak.

But it is this very prestige joined to the power of the US which causes anxieties and even irritations among those sections of opinion which hold Western solidarity to be a basic necessity.

The sickness of indecision from which France, weak-

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ened by so many trials, so often suffers also has attacked the US, where its consequences are infinitely graver. We felt them in Indo-China where American vacillations led the Communist enemy to believe that those Western quarrels which constituted its only hope would not be resolved.

It is around the US, around the free democratic spirit which is its honor and ours, that all the virile forces of the West must rally; around the US, not under the domination of the US. That is how the best minds here see the problem.

PIERRE BRISSON, *Paris, France*

No, the American prestige in Germany has not declined, but it has changed in its impact in Germany. The policy of the occupation forces no longer furnishes the general standard of opinion here as it did a few years ago. We see the United States and its foreign policy very realistically now. We believe that the US, the strongest force in the West that can counter-balance Moscow, is positively needed in West Germany.

DR. HELMUT CRON, *Stuttgart, Germany*

I do sense a decline in American prestige here in Indonesia. The major reasons are inconsistent American policy, McCarthy, anti-American Communist propaganda, the fact that America is very rich and very powerful, the H-Bomb's explosions in the Pacific, and too much emphasis by prominent Americans on American world leadership.

I should add at once that Washington, Lincoln, Thomas Jefferson are names which are revered in Indonesia, and which made America the champion of democracy and freedom to many Indonesians before the Second World War.

America pledged and pledges herself to the principles of democracy, freedom and self-determination of all nations, and yet she supported France in her colonial war in Indo-China. She supports the corrupt Kuomintang regime in Formosa. She is silent about continued colonialism in many parts of Africa and Asia.

American policy in Indo-China has done a great harm to your prestige in Indonesia. The war in Indo-China was not regarded in Indonesia as a war to stem the tide of Communist expansion in Asia. France is not seen in the light of a hero desperately defending democracy from a Communist onslaught. France is regarded as a colonial power which was attempting by the use of force of arms to resubdue the Indo-Chinese peoples. And the huge American support to France in Indo-China is seen in this light.

The most competent American observers have branded the Kuomintang regime as corrupt and not representative of the Chinese people, and yet America continues to give her support to this regime. The Syngman Rhee regime in South Korea has repeatedly violated democratic principles—he jailed and arrested his political opponents—and yet he continues to enjoy American support. The rearming of Japan by America is felt as a threat by the other Asian peoples, which had experienced the horrors of Japanese occupation.

In Europe America carries out a policy with the aim to free the European peoples from Communist domination centered in Moscow. But in Asia, America neglects the interests of the Asian peoples, and supports Western colonial empires under the slogan of stopping Communist expansion in Asia. People in Indonesia feel that in her preoccupation to stop Communist expansion in Asia, America tends to place the interests of the peoples in Asia on the secondary plane. To stop the spread of Communism in Asia, it is felt here, America is willing to support the continued presence of Western colonial enclaves in Asia, rather than to give support to movements for freedom by the Asian nations, to support reactionary and feudal groups in Asia, rather than to support the progressive elements in the Asian countries.

America pours billions of dollars to aid the nations in Europe, but bickers with the Asian countries about the price of rubber, sugar and tin.

As in the society of human beings, the very fact that she is very rich and very powerful makes America the envy of all nations in the world, an envy which easily leads to hatred, fear and suspicions. Anti-American Communist propaganda is making a clever use of this, and to some extent also becomes a contributing factor to the decline of American prestige in Indonesia. The experimental H-bomb explosions in the Pacific were fully exploited to discredit America with charges of utter neglect to the safety and interests of the peoples in the Pacific and Asia.

Another American tendency to consult with the Western powers on what is good for Asia, instead of first consulting with the Asian nations themselves, does not help American prestige in Asia. There is a widespread feeling that Asian interests are being subordinated to the West's global strategy to stem the tide of Communism.

The hysterical anti-Communist witch-hunt by Senator McCarthy has also damaged the prestige of America in Indonesia, and many people here are asking themselves whether this will eventually not destroy the very freedoms which it is supposed to defend and protect. There is definitely an impression now in Indonesia that democratic freedoms are being curtailed in America, and that more and more Americans are becoming afraid to come out openly for what they sincerely believe on issues such as Korea and Formosa, for fear of being smeared as Communists or Communist-sympathizers.

MOCHTAR LUBIS, *Djakarta, Indonesia*

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3. *Do you sense a shift in Communist pressures between military and non-military means of expansion?*

Yes. There is a distinct shift in Communist pressures from the military to the non-military means of expansion. The attempts of Chou En-lai to inveigle Britain into the area of peaceful co-existence is an obvious effort to isolate America and thus divide the Western world. Although India is for peaceful co-existence, she would not like to see any divisions in the democratic front for she realizes that if the democratic powers do not hang together they will hang separately.

FRANK MORAES, *Bombay, India*

There is, of course, no clean-cut distinction between "military" and "non-military" means of expansion. The success of "non-military" policies obviously depends on the existence of a vast military apparatus ready for immediate action and the will to use it. A hold-up man who gets his victim's wallet without shooting the pistol he is holding cannot be said to use persuasion and diplomatic techniques. At the present moment, Russian leaders find it more convenient and cheaper to use "non-military" means of expansion.

LUIGI BARZINI JR., *Milan, Italy*

I can simply answer no. I sense that Communism has the whole time been aiming at gaining its ends by non-military means and that as far as it is possible for me to judge, there has been no shift on this point. By that I do not mean that Russia and Communist states in general are peaceful in a special sense.

HERBERT TINGSTEN, *Stockholm, Sweden*

I see absolutely no change as to Communist objectives, as to its inflexible will to expand, as to the very principles of that expansion of which Communism is the instrument. It would be absurd and perilous to be taken in by whatever outward and superficial shifts are indicated in the pursuit of the Communist Party strategy.

PIERRE BRISSON, *France*

The Communist tactics are very changeable. The Communists are talented of course and know how to make their intentions plausible with the use of Western phrases. They constantly invent new variations of their methods, with much greater skill than the West.

Most Germans think that the danger from the East is not as much a military one as one of underground operations of a non-military character. However, only politically naïve people fall for it and few of them out of sympathy for Communist ideas. Moscow is deceiving itself if it believes that it is succeeding in hiding its real purpose behind these methods.

DR. HELMUT CRON, *Stuttgart, Germany*

I would not term it a shift from military to non-military means of expansion, because I think that the strategy of Communist expansion is based upon an integrated pressure by both military and non-military means, depending on the situation and area for further expansion. In Indonesia, for example, working effectively in addition to their activities in the labor movement, the Communists are carrying out their plan to capture the leadership in cultural, literary and other artistic activities. Every year the Peking government invites more and more people to attend various congresses. Russia and her satellites are making offers for better trade. The Communist countries are really hard at work to convince Indonesia that they will buy Indonesian raw material at better prices, and that they can help Indonesia to industrialize much better and quicker and at a cheaper price.

MOCHTAR LUBIS, *Djakarta, Indonesia*

4. *What principal steps or revisions of US policy do you feel are needed to maintain the unity and vitality of the free nations?*

America must make every effort to convince her friends abroad that she does not stand for war-like solutions such as those connoted by the phrases "massive resistance" and building up "situations of strength." The democratic world, particularly the Asian democratic world, is convinced that if the Pentagon does not rule, American prestige should recover rapidly. The association of American policy with men such as Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee and until recently Bao Dai is another factor in US decline in prestige. The shedding of Chiang Kai-shek and the recognition of facts by the admission of Communist China into the UN should again help to restore declining prestige. Internally, the scotching of McCarthyism and the stamping out of any forms of witch-hunting should assist this process.

FRANK MORAES, *Bombay, India*

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This is impossible to answer. Out of the diagnosis must come the suggested cure. What is the real cause of the decline in American prestige? The factors are many. There is the American reluctance to accept the ancient and ugly laws governing international affairs, the contrast between the immense goals of US foreign policy and the means with which to implement it. There is the presupposition that all human beings are fundamentally decent and, given a choice, still choose the right (an 18th century delusion). There is the hope that empiricism will always work (empiricism is the answer to outside stimuli and never holds the initiative in international affairs). There is also the hope that money alone in sufficient quantities will solve most problems. There is the mysterious gap between the hard realism with which responsible Americans carry out their private affairs and the naïveté of their international negotiations. On the other hand, one cannot ask the United States to become England of the 19th century and the State Department to follow Machiavelli and Clausewitz. The strength of your country is in its ideals, which are those of the Age of Light. The United States must work out its own technique, use the moral tools it has inherited, follow its own historical pattern. Nobody can advise the US. We only hope Americans will solve their problems in time to avert a catastrophe.

LUIGI BARZINI JR., *Milan, Italy*

I believe that the main lines of US policy are right; contrary to many of my fellow countrymen I understand very well the American disinclination to admit Communist China to the UN and on several of the points where there have been divergencies between American and British attitudes I share the American point of view. My impression is, however, that in the fulfillment of the political program there is less clarity and stability under your present Administration. I believe that the policy of containment is at present the only one possible; I believe as little in the possibility of a real agreement that puts an end to the conflict between East and West as I do in the policy of "liberation." We wholly reject of course the policy of preventive war.

HERBERT TINGSTEN, *Stockholm, Sweden*

First and foremost—I speak now as a French citizen—persuade American opinion that France is no longer—if ever she was—a colonial power. Persuade it that the spirit of conquest is as foreign to us as that of intolerance is to democratic Americans.

It is not necessary to revise American policy, but to keep it moving in a straight line.

PIERRE BRISSON, *Paris, France*

First of all, a clear foreign policy. Even friends of America ask about the political basis of your policy for it is not always easily perceptible. They ask whether there exists in America a clear picture of German views, besides the general need for German soldiers. You might also reflect whether it might not be better to depend less on abstract doctrines. Europe is not a laboratory for chemical experiences. Life finds often better pragmatic answers to the tasks at hand than one provided by abstract formulas. It is necessary to have more patience and confidence, more sense for the living and less abstract planning than in recent years.

DR. HELMUT CRON, *Stuttgart, Germany*

There is no denying the fact, that both in Europe and in Asia America has taken over the place of several big world powers after the Second World War. She has stepped into the position of the balancing power in Europe from Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy. She has taken over from Japan and Great Britain the position as a leading Pacific power, and so willingly or unwillingly has assumed the cloak of leadership of the free world. But obviously within herself, she is not ready to play her new part. I do not want to presume to be an authority on American domestic politics, but we do get the impression that influential sections in America are always in conflict with each other with regard to the formulation of policies to deal with the problems arising in her "sphere of leadership."

If America really stands for freedom and democracy, she must not differentiate between freedoms of African or Asian nations from the freedom of the European nations. The African and Asian nations do not suffer from the same exploitation and limitations of their human rights, whether they live under Western colonial or Communist rule. The difference is only one of degree.

The underdeveloped countries of Asia, while they now enjoy political freedom suffer from the economic heritage of colonial rule. They are weak because their one-sided agricultural economies, and their reliance on exporting raw materials leaves them at the mercy of wide price fluctuations in world markets. They must be helped by America to achieve better trade relations, more balanced economies, and price levels in world markets that offer some security.

America has stood for all these things. The decline in American prestige here is caused by the fact that your country has not acted in the spirit of your professed ideals. You have failed to implement your own trade policies, or to convince the Western colonial powers that democracy and freedom are indivisible.

Of course there is a counter-argument to this statement—how could America be blamed for the continued French and British colonialism in many parts of Asia and Africa? We feel here that America could have exerted more pressure on these colonial powers. At a time like this, when the Communists are proclaiming in their propaganda that Communism is a liberating force, the democratic world has but one answer to give—real freedom to all nations within the free world!

MOCHTAR LUBIS, *Djakarta, Indonesia*

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SEPTEMBER 13, 1954

Top Colleges Face Problems in Picking the Class of '59

The 'Narrow Door' to College Admissions

by Vincent S. Carruthers

GETTING in college is getting tough. Taken whole, the nation's colleges are able to accommodate only a few more students than they were ten years ago, yet this fall there will be more applicants for admission than ever before. Even now, with dormitory doors all over the country opening to the freshman hordes sporting their '58 beanies, admissions directors have begun the year-long process of selecting the Class of 1959. With practiced glad-hands they are welcoming whatever candidates present themselves for a campus interview, and they are constantly talent-scouting the country's best secondary schools. Yet behind the great oak doors of their inner offices, they are faced with a selection problem reminiscent of those college-crammed years immediately following World War II. And as they eye the statistics which show America's war-baby population drawing ever nearer college age, they know that the competition for places in our top colleges can only increase in the next decade. Indeed, when admissions officers are selecting the college Class of 1964 (in 1959-60), recent figures show that the selection will be made from a population of 1,365,000 eighteen-year-old males, *31 percent more* than that population from which the Class of 1956 was taken!

How, then does a Dean of Admissions actually go about selecting a freshman class? Basically, in a given year's competition he attempts to evaluate each individual candidate for admission as against all the other candidates. He judges, first, on an applicant's scholastic record and his principal's (or headmaster's) recommendation. He probably requires the added evidence of a College Board Scholastic Aptitude Test. He'll do what little he can to guess at the candidate's intellectual motivation, but beyond measures of academic promise, he is also concerned with the applicant as a person. Character, as such, is hard to assess in an eighteen-year-old; an easier judgment is on extra-curricular achievement, musical, athletic, or whatever, with perhaps especial emphasis on summer work.

Vincent S. Carruthers has taught at several Eastern colleges and has, most recently, been a member of an Ivy League Admissions Board.

Simple as this generalized outline of admissions criteria sounds, it is far from the whole story. For *competition*— the individual measured against the group— is both the heartbeat and headache of college admissions; it is competition which separates the calibre of students at, say, Kalamazoo, from those at Columbia.

A look at some Eastern men's colleges will illustrate the problem of competition best, since these colleges proportionally attract the largest number of candidates. Tradition is an important drawing-card here, but the fact remains that Admissions Dean Eugene S. Wilson can authoritatively state: "No small college in the country today has more applicants for admission than Amherst." This year, Dean Wilson writes, the 250 members of his current freshman class at Amherst were selected from some 1,400 applicants, *1,200 of whom were "clearly qualified."* Similar figures, the ratios varying only slightly, might be given for such colleges as Princeton, Haverford, Williams, or Cornell.

Aside from those applicants in every group who are automatically disqualified by the lack of school recommendation or obvious emotional instability, the admissions competition among qualified applicants is clearly tremendous. Generally, a good candidate's chances of making the college he wants are around 1 in 3, but that ratio will be higher even a year from now, and more and more applicants will have to matriculate at the college that is their third or fourth choice.

WHAT hidden factors, if any, operate against the success of such candidates at the most highly competitive colleges? And, beyond the basic principles of selection already outlined, what rules an Admission Dean's judgment in the mid-winter heat of competition? Actually, admissions policy at most colleges is a committee matter; but it is the Dean of Admissions (or whatever his title may be) who bears the burden of final decision, and it is he who must deal with the midnight phone calls from irate alumni whose sons didn't get admitted. He has a man-killing job, however many his assistants: a job made doubly difficult by his many roles: he must be statistical expert, academic salesman, diplomat, and conscience of the college all in one. If, then, he faces an

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Alumni Gridiron Dinner with a set of application figures differently emphasized from those that he presents to his Faculty Committee on Admissions, he can hardly be blamed. Pressures increase on him with every year of tenure, and few pressure-groups can be more demanding than the fraternally inclined alumni of an Ivy-style college.

Since high-priced proselytizing of big-time football talent is, by general agreement, ruled out in the more academically competitive colleges, alumni pressures are subtly directed toward procuring "The Well-Rounded Boy." Emphasis on The Well-Rounded Boy, however much it may be a distortion of the colleges' early concern with character as well as marks, has transferred itself to secondary schools with terrifying effectiveness. Extra-curricular activities are now the patent measure, and school guidance officers (to say nothing of parents) are constantly encouraging conformity to the common admissions-form list of Camera Club, Junior Choir, Audio-Visual Association, JV Track, Senior Dance Committee, and so on. Many admissions men would like to find their way out of this labyrinth they have created, but the terrible truth is that even the activities listed above would seem slight evidence of Well-Roundedness to most Deans. A recent, typically Ivy, freshman class of 728 men had, for example, won an aggregate of 877 varsity school letters in 25 sports; there were 37 school football captains in the group, 44 yearbook editors, 24 bandleaders, and 97 class presidents.

If The Well-Rounded Boy is, then, sometimes merely a stereotype to the men who read his application, the sad fact remains that competitively qualified individualists are few and far between. So are they, surely, in society as a whole, but the lack of backwoods geniuses in college today suggests, competitively speaking, that the emphasis on college preparation factories is partially to blame. It is certainly possible to overestimate the social conformity of the boy who prepares himself for Princeton by wearing white buck shoes and club tie at Lawrenceville, but it was only several years ago that another New Jersey prep school was advertising "the distinctive social bearing of private school boys" in its catalogue. Usually, the social aspect of such pressures is limited to those comparatively few schools which channel many of their students to a specific college. Milton and St. Paul's ably feed Harvard, for instance, as Hotchkiss and Choate traditionally supply Yale.

Happily, a greater and greater percentage of applicants are now being accepted from a wide variety of public schools. Whereas private schools usually led before the war, Dartmouth, for example, currently averages about 60 percent high school boys in an entering freshman class. This percentage is apparently chance rather than design, but it does tell something of the strides public schools have made toward adequate college preparation in a time when college degrees are as common as high school diplomas were 30 years ago.

ACCORDING to the statistics, prep-schoolers show up no better academically than public school boys do in their freshman year, although they do seem to make a slightly easier adjustment to campus life. At one time, cramming applicants for their College Board examinations was a privilege jealously guarded by the private schools, and certain colleges refused to require those examinations as a credit. The College Boards are now well-revised, however, and are almost universally required as a measure of academic aptitude. Indeed, they are of particular help to admissions men in evaluating a candidate from a public school of unknown standards. A boy from a small Wyoming high school may, that is, stand well in the top quarter of his class, but if the Eastern dean to whom he applies has had no previous experience with the school in question, he needs the boy's College Board results to measure his academic abilities against the candidates from a more familiar background. The examinations are also important in those cases of a Catholic applicant from a Church school whose priest refuses to provide a non-sectarian college with adequate background information.

Test evidence is valuable only up to a point, of course, but an IBM punch-card machine is apparently growing to be an invaluable asset in admissions work. Generally, some 60 percent to 70 percent of a typical Ivy College class is drawn from men who were at least top-quarter students in secondary school rank (30 percent+ were top-tenth), and coupling such data with College Board scores, gives a predictive index of academic promise that is amazingly accurate. It is accurate for a *group*, however, not necessarily for individuals; and it is here that a skilled admissions dean's judgment is superior to any machine.

College admissions being the business of balances it is, two other factors enter into competitive selection. Sometimes these are stated, sometimes not. Generally, it is a matter of public information in any college booklet that sons of alumni are given admissions preference, "all other things being equal." Equality is hard to

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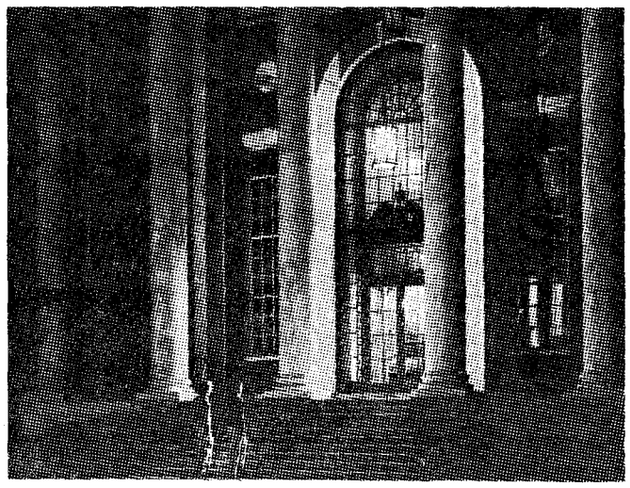
judge when perpetuating family tradition involves the possibility of a new gym or DKE house, but comparatively few places in any freshman class are forfeited to borderline alumni sons who couldn't meet the competition on their own. Indeed the ability to resist alumni pressure is the hallmark of an experienced admissions dean.

In any case, the favoritism accorded alumni sons is so slight, if so much a matter of universal practice, that little injustice to other candidates is involved. The infinitely more invidious admissions practice is that discrimination resulting from the so-called "Geographical Preference." Some Eastern colleges openly seek wide geographical representation by limiting the number of students from Massachusetts and New York. Others attempt to broaden their geographical base by advertising that preference is given to applicants from South of the Potomac and Ohio, or West of the Mississippi.

The policy is sound in theory, but too often corrupt in practice. For it is under cover of this geographical catch-all that the proportion of Jewish students is sometimes limited. Negro applicants are usually given every break in the Ivy circuit; the level of their preparation is generally so inadequate that a good Negro candidate is wholly welcomed, albeit for "window-dressing" in certain instances. Policy in the more tradition-ridden Eastern colleges seems to be, however, that only a limited percentage of Jewish boys will be allowed to share the prestige of the gentile Ivy.

WAYS of controlling this percentage are many and subtle. It is, of course, considered bad form to request an applicant's denominational preference. That information, along with tell-tale application photographs, is forbidden by law in some states, notably New York. On much less evidence, however, some admissions officers seek to restrict the Jewish population of their classes, usually to somewhere around 15 percent. Geographical preference plays a major part in that the highest proportion of our national Jewish population is concentrated in the urban East, especially in metropolitan New York. Match this with the terrific academic competition in the superior New York public schools, and it is clear that the able Jewish student has little chance to be Well-Rounded in the Connecticut prep-school sense, especially when his teachers are on extra-curricular strike.

School "quotas," though they do not always exist and are rarely admitted, similarly prejudice applicants from the larger city schools. It being impossible to read all of two or three thousand applications in less than several months, a similar perversion of equal opportunity occurs when consideration of New York applicants is left until last—when most places in the class have been filled. Ironically, the Jewish applicant who has recently moved from Manhattan to Englewood misses this special screening, one further evidence of hit-or-miss injustice. These practices are doubly vicious for being so secret: sometimes junior admissions officers are not informed of the covert policy until it is certain that they will "understand." Then they, too, will be asked to underline evidences of Temple affiliation, or make an inconspicuous mark on the folder of any candidate they merely *suspect* of being a Jew.



Discrimination is sometimes shrugged off as a matter of necessary compromise. "We must," a college president will say, "restrict *any* group—whether educational, economic, racial, or geographic—when that group threatens the balance of our class." But more often, even when designated by trustees to implement such policy, the Dean involved may be directing admissions so as to bore at discrimination from within. Almost by definition, the integrity of admission workers is unusually high. The truly outstanding boy, whether Jew or Japanese, will surely be accepted at the college of his choice; what is unfortunate is the high proportion of mediocre students: white, nominally protestant, and wholly Well-Rounded, who win competitive acceptance on a scale of just such limited virtue.

Encouraging, however, is the fact that full opportunities for a top-rate college education are growing every year, particularly economic opportunities. An increasing number of scholarships are available; faculty children are now offered free tuition exchange privileges within a national group of designated colleges; a scholarship pool is in the offing which will ease the intercollegiate proselytizing of exceptional, but financially needy, candidates. Still, the cost of college admission is high indeed, whether the price be figured in dollars, discrimination, or conformity to ever more mechanical admissions standards. The price will continue to rise as the population index soars, especially in those Eastern colleges which are getting an increasingly disproportionate number of applicants, perhaps because their diplomas, in a century of standardization, are more and more valued as a social badge.

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Paris Dispatch A Stronger France?

The problem now in France is finding —or making—in the National Assembly two different majorities, one in favor of granting sovereignty to West Germany, the other—obviously more difficult to put together—in consent of (if not support of) some form of rearmament of the West Germans. In the final session of the Assembly before a recess was taken until November 3, Pierre Mendès-France repeated once again that his policy was unswervingly based upon the Atlantic alliance, the construction of Europe, and Franco-German reconciliation. The great majority of the opponents of EDC as well as its supporters, he said, agreed with him. But there is the problem of method; and there can be little doubt that the deep and violent passions aroused in the final stage of the EDC controversy—and not appeased by the Premier—will make anything he suggests a target of attack.

The vote against EDC, according to the Premier, wasn't an end; it was merely a phase. Now France would have to act, and to act quickly. The government would at once begin conversations with the other five EDC powers, with Britain and the US to work out a new solution. On German rearmament, Mendès-France said that he would try "to obtain from Great Britain broader guarantees and a more effective participation." He hinted broadly—as he had several times before — that he and Sir Winston Churchill saw pretty much eye to eye; that is, that they agree on bringing West German armed forces into a coalition of Western European armies, including not only the EDC nations but all of the NATO powers, and within the framework of NATO itself.

The notion that the next big step is up to Britain rather than France is widely accepted in both countries. The postponement of Anthony Eden's scheduled trip to the Pacific conference is an indication. And the *London Times* says:

> The lead for a new framework within which to build German rearmament and ally her to the West would now best come from Great Britain. The move cannot come from Bonn. It is hardly likely to come from one of the other four countries concerned. Desperate and disappointing as the French vote [on EDC] was, it gives Britain a second chance to lead Europe.

There are many Frenchmen, even opponents of EDC, who deeply regret the manner in which it was done to death. But there are also many, even among its friends, who believe that though the Premier's so-called neutrality in the discussions and his refusal to pose the question of confidence contributed to the ugly surgery, most of the blame lies on the pro-EDC side. Mendès-France wanted the discussion to continue until the bitter end, giving everyone a chance to say his piece. He was frustrated in this desire by the procedural maneuvers for which he wasn't responsible, and which he deplored. But he had been right all along in believing that there wasn't a majority in the Assembly for EDC in its original form. And this was made a certainty by a number of recent events outside the Palais Bourbon, for example the attitude of Adenauer at Brussels, and the fact that while the Assembly was debating in Paris, Field Marshal Kesselring was telling the steel-helmet gathering at Recklinghausen that he and they were the best "Europeans" of all.

West German sovereignty and rearmament are the problems of the immediate future, but beyond them lies still the task of salvaging the European idea—the idea of unity by federation, coalition or some other means. On this subject, the divisions both in the French parliament and among the French people suggest the degree of fanaticism. Party lines break. Even national allegiances slip. If Mendès-France weren't considered by some of his own countrymen to be a heretic or even a traitor to the almost mystical idea of Europeanism, he might have done better at Brussels.

French "Europeans" feel themselves closer to Germans of like feeling than to Frenchmen opposed or even lukewarm to unity by integration and federation. French Catholics are linked to French anti-laicals rather than to other Catholics doubtful about Europeanism. French Communists cheer generals and big industrialists who oppose the European idea.

What will happen now? When the Assembly is called together again, in November or earlier, Mendès-France will succeed in getting a majority in favor of granting sovereignty to West Germany—a task made far more difficult by Adenauer's announcement that the Bonn agreement granting limited sovereignty will no longer suffice. The consent to West German rearmament is another —and a far more difficult—matter. At the present time, it is hard to imagine a majority supporting either the creation of an independent West German army, or the neutralization of Germany. And one of the other points made clear by Mendès-France at the final session was that, despite all the talk about his neutralism and willingness to flirt with the Russians, he opposed any "last chance" Big Four meeting with Russia on Germany. For it would probably become another long, empty talk-fest.

The assassination of EDC clears the way, however, for exploratory talks, first between France, Britain and the US; then with West Germany on a quick grant of sovereignty—probably with some of the changes demanded by Adenauer. Next, or perhaps even at the same time, there will almost certainly be negotiations between France, the US, Britain and the five EDC countries on rearmament of German. Finally, there is the chance that such talks may be carried out in the framework—or on the scene in Strasbourg—of the Council of Europe, so that they may be linked with the quest for another formula of united Europe.

For once, the final key to the situation doesn't lie in Washington. Not even the most ardent Atlanticists think it does. London can, should, indeed must, lead. But where the course lies may also depend on Moscow. They too must act, and act quickly. If they don't, there is still a chance that France will become in the next few months a stronger, a better, a more reliable factor in West Europe and in the Atlantic alliance than she would have been as part of EDC.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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GERALD W. JOHNSON

★

The Superficial Aspect

THE CONTUMACY of Frenchmen in stolidly remaining French has provoked both the wonder and the ire of the English-speaking nations throughout history, and it shows no sign of abatement. The policy of Mr. Mendès-France is as unblushingly Gallican as was that of Clemenceau, Thiers, Talleyrand and Richelieu; and our Mr. Dulles is as disconcerted by it as were Wilson, Gladstone, Pitt and Buckingham. The Frenchiness of the French is so deeply ingrained that not even the arguments of Adlai Stevenson can eradicate it.

THE unwillingness of the French to trust an armed Germany has been a factor in every European political tangle for several hundred years; so a superficial observer wonders, in his idle way, why the State Department seems never to have envisaged the possibility that it might wreck the European Defense Community. Superficially, it seems the height of stupidity not to have been ready to fall back upon a prepared position in case EDC failed to hold; but that is what happened.

Yet it is possible for the outsider to find an explanation without attributing imbecility to the men charged with the conduct of foreign affairs. Framing an alternative for EDC was no job for the office boy, no job even for a highly intelligent clerk; the best brains in the State Department are none too good for a task of such difficulty, and it would have been folly to entrust it to anything less than top-flight men and idle to expect even the ablest to succeed without months of labor.

It is true that for at least 12 months there have been plain indications that EDC would encounter difficulties at Paris, but it is not necessarily true that the State Department deliberately closed its eyes to those indications. It is possible that it saw the situation clearly enough but could do nothing about it because all the men capable of dealing with it were otherwise engaged.

For it is also true that not for 12, but for 20 months the State Department has been desperately defending itself against the assaults of Senator McCarthy and his associates. The very men who should have been working out an alternative in case the EDC plan failed have been spending hours, sometimes days, on the witness stand explaining to a Senate committee that they really are not either William Z. Foster nor Otto John under an assumed name; and when they were not testifying they were busy collecting documents and memoranda to prove that whenever they did anything that showed any sense it did not necessarily mean that they were acting on instructions from the Kremlin.

For 20 months it has been dangerous, if not suicidal, for an official of the State Department to show any sign of intelligence; for to the men who have dominated the scene during the past year and a half intelligence, being utterly alien, is suspect. But the creation of a workable alternative to EDC is the kind of job that calls for intelligence of a high order, intelligence that is not merely beyond the comprehension of a McCarthy, but even beyond that of the average soda-jerker. If the abler men had had any time left after explaining to the investigating committees that two and two really do make four, it would have been perilous to come out with a sensible idea.

But if the State Department is not, in fact, a sanctuary for refugees from schools for the feeble-minded, then it seems fairly plain that to McCarthyism we owe most of the debt of our present plight—ousted from leadership of the free nations, heartily supported in Europe only by West Germany, supported in Asia only by Thailand and the Philippines, and regarded by the rest of the world as a power hardly more reliable, and materially less intelligent than Soviet Russia.

And less than two years ago we were regarded as the last great bulwark of human freedom!

WELL, if the American people like that sort of politics, that is the sort they will get and they need not scream when the bill is presented. Some do not like it — Senator Potter, for example. It is generally understood that Senator Potter, then an American soldier, had his legs shot off at the battle of Colmar in France; but legless or not he has given McCarthy the most terrific kick as yet delivered. What a wonderful thing it would be if the state of Wisconsin should presently bring out an armless veteran who would take McCarthy by the nape of the neck and throw him out of public life! It would make the D. A. V. something like the first line of national defense.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Inside View of Mencken's Mercury

by Charles Angoff

I HAVE before me, as I write this article, a letter from one of the most distinguished historians in the United States today, in which he says, "It is good to hear from you again. I didn't know that you are still connected with *The American Mercury*, which has certainly changed—and not for the better in my opinion." And only yesterday I spent an hour with the editor of one of the most intellectual, most respected and most successful periodicals in America—it has a circulation that runs well over a million a week—and the first thing he did was to hold up the very latest issue of *The Mercury* and say, "Shame on you." This editor prides himself upon the factual soundness of every article in his magazine. One of his celebrated boasts is, "We don't want writers on our magazine, we want reporters, men and women who respect facts, facts, and nothing but facts, men and women who make no statement without checking it first at least three times." And yet he, like the aforementioned historian, didn't know that I haven't been associated with *The Mercury* in any way since 1950.

But these, of course, are not the most disturbing things I hear and read about *The Mercury*. I am far more disturbed by the growing legends about the magazine and its editors, especially H. L. Mencken, most of them more colorful than true, and also by the strange and often unfair interpretations of the place of *The Mercury* and of its editors in American cultural and journalistic history. One such interpretation appeared in the *Saturday Review* a few weeks ago, written by the editor, Norman Cousins under the title, "Our Times and *The Mercury*." The piece was vigorously and plausibly written. There was, indeed, much truth in it, but it wasn't the whole truth or even a major part of it, not at least from the point of view of one who was associated with the old *Mercury* and with Mencken for about ten years, during a part of which both largely set the tone of the thinking of many college students and recent college graduates, when Mencken's every sneer and smile were tantamount to royal commands among those whom he called "the civilized minority."

It is true, unfortunately, that many of the articles in the old *Mercury* were, as Mr. Cousins points out, of a debunking character, and hence, inevitably, of inferior quality. Mr. Cousins refers to a shabby article on Abraham Lincoln, questioning the legends about his social origins and casting doubts upon his status as one of America's great historic figures. Also, there were many other such articles—even worse ones.

Re-reading old copies of Mencken's *Mercury* can be a very depressing experience. There was an article arguing that the public utilities were almost unanimously true public servants and that all those who dared to criticize them were "quacks, ignoramuses, and hired lackeys of the kept liberal press." There was another article in which the author proved to his own satisfaction that Walt Whitman was not a poet of even the second class but a word-monger and a general phony. There was a third article presenting in quick fashion "The Case Against Large-Scale Farming," that has failed to make much sense to hundreds of thousands of farmers since it was first published in 1932. There was a fourth article insisting that all religion began "as a conditioned reflex." There was a fifth article making such merciless fun of "the stupid pedagogues" that an overly impressionable reader might have despaired of the whole future of our country. Indeed, there were a dozen articles loaded with carefully selected "facts" and proving even to "professors and other such inferior beings" that all public schools were "a fraud and delusion, a drain upon the public treasury, and a stench to the nostrils of all decent, well-informed and well-disposed men and women."

There were many dozens of articles sneering at democracy in general and at virtually all Senators and Congressmen and Governors and mayors except those that passed Mencken's acid test to be considered civilized, namely, whether they were for or against Prohibition. And Mencken's editorials and book reviews, to a large extent, were one long harangue against all the people and things that most Americans respect and hold dear: education, the home, marriage, love, religion, the United States Supreme Court, the Presidency, the radio, children as a class, all women who haven't the "decency to keep quiet when their menfolk talk, particularly when they talk about matters beyond the ken of the female mind," the whole science of psychology, the whole science of astronomy ("You can't tell me that there is any sense to this rubbish about stars being away—hundreds of thousands of miles away—that's pish posh"), all clergymen ("a man of the cloth is *ipso facto* a fraud and to be watched, especially when there are young girls or young boys about"), and so on *ad infinauseam*. And in his very last book review for the old *Mercury* (December, 1933), he saw nothing really to worry about in the rise of Hitler, and at the same time expressed some views that made many of his friends wonder where he stood on Nazism.

MENCKEN himself—and so powerfully did he impress his personality upon *The Mercury* that he and it were virtually one as long as he edited it—was a man of few basic ideas, and perhaps half of them were absurd, cheap, and simply not true. He believed that there were congenitally inferior and congenitally superior people, that the people of wealth "and substance" were largely the congenitally superior, that public school education was mostly a waste of money because the congenitally inferior children naturally could not be improved and the congenitally superior needed little education or such education as they needed could be supplied by their wealthy parents, that democracy was the worst form of government and the tool of "all the poltroons and mob masters in this life," that benevolent despotism of the Frederick

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the Great variety was the only government that made sense, and so on.

His gift for literary criticism in the grand sense was very limited. He tended to like only those novelists who "showed up" Americans or other human beings, but chiefly Americans, as "boobs, dupes, and lackeys." Poetry was almost an unknown world to him. He claimed time and again that only "women, damaged men, perennial adolescents, and others who are ill at ease in the world of sound ideas write poetry." Painting, dancing and sculpture were, to him, "obviously third-rate arts."

He was against all political and economic reforms because reforming the "congenitally inferior" was foolish; genuine statecraft attempted to keep these "congenitally inferior" in their "proper place," which, of course, consisted in serving the "congenitally superior." America was the most benighted land in creation, or, to use one of his phrases, "America is the backside of the universe."

Finally, despite all his praise of "genuine scholarship," he himself was not much of a scholar. *The American Language* makes entertaining reading, but philologists, in the privacy of their libraries, have smiled at it. One of them, an eminent lexicographer, has called *The American Language* "an elephantine newspaper feature story." This is probably too cruel a characterization, but there is truth in it. There can be little doubt, however, that Mencken's *Notes on Democracy, Treatise on the Gods* and *Treatise on Right and Wrong*, are not much better than journalistic quickies.

And yet, despite these criticisms—and I have deliberately refrained from qualifying them, as I easily could have done, in order to forestall any charge that I am being too kind to my old teacher and friend—it is a mistake to undervalue Mencken and *The Mercury*. As a thinker Mencken probably had only a temporary vogue, for his fund of knowledge was limited and his ideas, as I have said, were few and largely dubious. But as a journalist, his influence was immense. Indeed, he was one of the greatest editors in all our history.

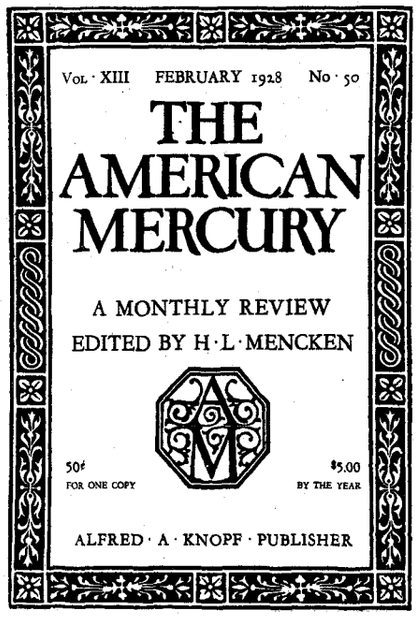
Of course, there was considerable froth in the pages of *The Mercury*. The American department was all froth, and nobody realized it better than Mencken himself. There was also excitement for sheer excitement's sake. For example, the aforementioned article on Whitman, which was the subject of heated controversy in the office, finally went in, though Mencken himself eventually admitted that the author was overstating his case, simply because, as Mencken said, "Oh, hell, Angoff, you may be right, and I guess I can't answer all that goddamn Harvard learning of yours, but I think we ought to print the piece if only to get the professors sore. For years they said Whitman was a bum, now they say he's an angel. Let's keep them hopping and squirming." And he wrote some of those dreadfully unfair things about Woodrow Wilson and William Jennings Bryan and Stuart P. Sherman and Henry Van Dyke, not because he believed every word he put down but also to "stir up the animals."

SOMETIMES his conscience would bother him, as when, in reviewing Sherman's posthumous book, he said some very nice things about him, taking back a large part of the abuse he had heaped upon him while he was alive. When I asked him why he did this he turned his face away and said, "It's the Christian in me, I guess. That baptismal water they poured over me when I was a boy, and against my wish, is powerful stuff. But really, there were some good things in Sherman, there really were."

Sometimes, when I would get his manuscript for the Editorial or the Library departments, I would cut out the passages that seemed in especially bad taste to me, without telling him. I imagined he knew what I had done, but he never reprimanded me, except once, when he had called somebody an "Episcopalian *litvak*," and I had cut it because I thought in that particular instance he was hitting below the belt. "Well, Angoff," he said, "so you cut out 'Episcopalian *litvak*.' I wish you hadn't. I'm fond of that phrase. Actually, in all honesty, it's not my own. I went to a *briss* [festival of circumcision] the other day, and the rabbi used that phrase in describing some mutual friend, a married man, who was carrying on with a *shikse* [Gentile girl]. If they had taught you how to drink like a man at Harvard, you would have had enough sense to let that phrase stand."

This sort of high-jinx was probably a bit adolescent, but that very fact to a considerable extent contradicts Mr. Cousin's remark that "the pulse-beat of historical America failed to come through in *The Mercury*." What is the pulsebeat of America? Of course, it is many varied things, but I believe that one of its dominant characteristics is high-jinx, sheer excitement, wild exaggeration, grand apostrophizing, the organ roll in prose, the "yawping from the housetops" in poetry. It is to be found in Melville and in Mark Twain and in Walt Whitman and in Thomas Hart Benton and in Charles Ives and in Thomas Wolfe and even in the fantastic debates and deliberations of Congress and the various state legislatures and the city councils. Mencken and his *Mercury* were anything but cold. They were always in a state of frenzy—and this frenzy was generally the frenzy of love, love of America and of its history and traditions, people and customs, heroes and rogues, saints and sinners and clowns . . . the American plains and mountains and rivers and cities and villages, and glories and aberrations, and dreams and hopes and regrets and miseries and . . . all that is America.

In fact, *The Mercury* printed more Americana than all the other so-called quality magazines put together. It was *The Mercury* that brought the whole Paul Bunyan folk-lore before literate America; before that it was known chiefly to folk-lore specialists. It was *The Mercury* that for years printed at least two articles in every issue on American history—and among the men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H. L. MENCKEN—1948

who wrote those articles, incidentally, were William E. Dodd, Charles A. Beard, and Howard Odum. There were articles on life on the plains of Iowa and Montana and Nebraska, American horses and coyotes, old-time preachers and modern radio "spiritual counsellors"; there were articles on virtually every hero and rogue of more than local interest . . . on Daniel Boone and James Audubon and Bishop Asbury and Bishop Seabury and Samuel Adams and John Adams and Jim Corbett and Jim Jeffries and P. T. Barnum and, coming down to more recent times, Oswald Garrison Villard of *The Nation* and Roger Baldwin of the *American Civil Liberties Union,* and scores of others. *The Mercury* loved everything that was American, the good, the bad, and the in-between.

Despite all his diatribes against America, Mencken was an ardent patriot, and he infused *The Mercury* with his patriotism. That was the chief reason why he had so much contempt for the expatriates of the twenties and early thirties. He looked upon them as virtual traitors. "Only third raters go off to Paris and Nice and those other frog dumps," he said to me. "A real writer stays home and writes about his own people. Look at Red Lewis. You'll never see him guzzling that French wine in Paris and diddling the French girls, who, by the way, are not the cuties they are cracked up to be. They're mostly ugly as sin. But, as I say, Red Lewis stays home and writes about Sauk Center and Zenith. I tell you, not a goddam line worth reading will come out of that whole gang on the Left Bank."

What Mencken actually accomplished was nothing less than a revolution in American journalism. Though he denounced America month in and month out, and especially "the democratic bilge that is called a political philosophy," he democratized quality journalism. He brought the kitchen and the hayloft and the living room and the circus tent and the skid row and the loggers' camp and the camp meeting tent and the barber shop and the railroad yard right into the august pages of a fifty-cent magazine. The intellectuals of the big cities were thrilled to read all about this America that only the newspapers had hitherto dealt with, and skimpily at that. It is true that *The Mercury* sometimes overpraised the writers of the aforementioned articles—Mencken was indulging in hyperbole when he called the Jim Tully of "Circus Parade" and "Shanty Irish" "the American Gorki"—but it is also true that the readers of Tully and Holbrook and James Stevens and Frank Dobie learned about an aspect of America that they could not have learned in *Harper's* or *The Atlantic* or *Scribner's* or *The Century* or *The Forum.* Those who knew this best of all were the editors of these magazines. And the fact is that *Harper's* and *Atlantic* and the other "quality magazines" were never the same again after *The Mercury* got going.

THE MERCURY also vitalized the political articles. In the other magazines in its class political articles generally were written by professors who wrote about Washington and state politics from above, and who took great pains to be objective and calm, both admirable virtues but of little value when not based upon intimate knowledge of the subjects they were writing about. When *The Mercury* wanted an article on President Coolidge—what type of person he was, what he dreamed about when alone, what he talked about to his wife, what he actually read, who his heroes were—it did not go to a professor of history at the University of Wyoming, one who had never been within a thousand miles of Washington. *The Mercury* went to Frank Kent, a Washington reporter of long experience (and the original TRB of the *New Republic*) who saw Coolidge week in and week out, watched him smile, heard him speak, heard him stammer, talked to Senators and Congressmen who expressed their frank opinions about Coolidge. The result was some-

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thing new in the field of the political article: a truly well-informed, vigorously written analysis by a man who knew him and who had a point of view. The article, which appeared in August, 1924, holds up remarkably well, and is still probably the best brief appraisal of Coolidge that has so far appeared in print.

THE PROFILE, which has become so integral a part of *The New Yorker*, and by which it has been deservedly praised, was actually born in the offices of *The Mercury*. Mencken realized that so-called second-class men—men who seldom make the front pages of newspapers but do occasionally appear at the bottom of page 17—often make better material for articles than do so-called first-class men. And he also had the same kind of abiding interest in revealing trivia that Harold Ross had: he wanted to know the kind of flower Grover Whalen prefers to have in his lapel and why, what type of suspenders Gene Talmadge of Georgia likes and why, the kind of poetry Senator Borah used to write in high-school, what type of popular sings Charles Evans Hughes generally hums when by himself. . . . Thus *The Mercury* printed excellent profiles by Henry Pringle and Herbert Asbury and Stanley Walker and others.

Since Mencken was interested in medicine and chemistry, he insisted that *The Mercury* print at least one and preferably two scientific pieces in every issue. This was something quite new in quality journalism. What was even more new was the treatment that Mencken called for. He demanded accuracy and completeness, but he also demanded humanity and clarity. So that in time *The Mercury* department of The Arts and Sciences became a model for other magazines. Lee Foster Hartman, late editor of *Harper's Magazine*, was especially taken with this department. He once asked where Mencken got so many good ideas. I told Mencken, and he instructed me to tell Hartman that "prayer and whiskey and the Holy Ghost are my only guides in this vale of tears."

Mencken had no respect whatever for "names." His principle was, "when a man wins the right to say what he pleases, he generally has very little to say, and he certainly has nothing worth printing." He found special delight in printing whole issues of *The Mercury* without a single "name." He especially liked to print issues where the names on the Table of Contents were "foreign" — Goldberg, Weissberg, Cautella, Krout, Halper. We once had an issue almost of this sort; near the bottom there was the name of Ralph Adams Cram, the celebrated Boston architect. Mencken looked and looked and then said to me, "How in hell did that Angoff-Saxon name get into decent society?"

Mencken was always eager to print authors for the first time, and to that end he carried on a huge correspondence with young men and women in all parts of the country in the hope that they would come through with a printable piece. He would send them long letters of advice on how to rewrite their articles, and he would suggest where they seek subjects. I was instructed to do the same. The young people were thrilled, and many of them did come through. What pleased them especially was that here was an editor who was not above corresponding with them, as was the case with the editors of some of the other "toney" magazines; here was a man who bubbled over with the same enthusiasms that possessed them, an editor who was truly desirous of printing good pieces about sheriffs and policemen and Governors and mayors and district leaders —and by good pieces Mencken did not mean stuffy pieces about "the socio-political implications of government on the lower levels." He meant honest, well-written, human pieces. No wonder he was called the managing editor of all the young hopeful writers all over the nation! There has been no one like him in this respect ever since he gave up *The Mercury* twenty years ago, and the life of all beginning writers has been so much the harder and so much the lonelier.

MENCKEN'S respect for good writing and lively thinking amounted to a religious fervor. Frequently he would accept articles whose burden of ideas offended him, but he was so impressed by the writing or by the logic that he printed them nevertheless. The politics or "the religious aberration" of a writer didn't interest him; if his story or article or poem was good, he printed it—and then took the author out and argued with him about politics or religion. He printed chapters from Michael Gold's *Jews Without Money* though he detested Communism. "In politics Mike has the mind of a cat's behind," said Mencken, "but the man can write, at least he can write about the East Side of his mother." Mencken also printed sections from Emma Goldman's autobiography, though her anarchism seemed like "garbage" to him. And he once printed an article on Charles S. S. Peirce, perhaps the most original philosopher America has produced so far, though he looked upon most philosophers as "idiots and worse" and sneered at metaphysics and epistemology. "I'll be damned if I know why I am accepting this article," he said, "but there's something about Peirce that appeals to me, and the writing is very powerful. Don't tell any of my friends that I agreed to the publication of the piece."

Why, then, did Mencken's *Mercury* collapse? I haven't any sure answers. It could be, as Mr. Cousins says, that *The Mercury's* politico-economic philosophy, such as it was, made no sense after the crash of 1929 and after the New Deal went into office. *The Mercury* scoffed at all "constructive ideas," and the times called for such ideas. It may also be that *The Mercury* was becoming less *Mercuryish*, so to speak—Mencken was getting fed up with editing and wanted to devote more time to his books. As Mencken was getting less interested in magazine editing, he began to listen more and more to advice from others,

Mencken's Idealism

MOST AMERICANS . . . even of fine standards—have long ago resigned themselves to the cheapness and ugliness of America, but Mencken has never resigned himself. He has never ceased to regard his native country with wounded and outraged eyes. The shabby politics, the childish books, the factories turning out wooden nut-megs have never lost their power to offend him. At this late date, he is, I suppose, almost the only man in the country who still expects American novelists to be artists and American politicians gentlemen.

Edmund Wilson
in the *New Republic*,
June 1, 1921

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On those who review books . . .

MERE REVIEWING . . . is plainly a much inferior business. Like writing poetry, it is chiefly a function of intellectual immaturity.

The young literatus just out of the university, having as yet no capacity for grappling with the fundamental mysteries of existence, is put to writing reviews of books, or plays, or music, or painting. Very often he does it extremely well; it is, in fact, not hard to do well, for even decayed pedagogues often do it, as such graveyards of the intellect as the *New York Times* bear witness. But if he continues to do it, whether well or ill, it is a sign to all the world that his growth ceased when they made him Artium Baccalaureus. Gradually he becomes, whether in or out of the academic grove, a pedagogue, which is to say, an artisan devoted to diluting and retailing the ideas of his superiors—not an artist, not even a bad artist, but almost the antithesis of an artist. He is learned, he is sober, he is painstaking and accurate—but he is as hollow as a jug. Nothing is in him save the ghostly echoes of other men's thoughts and feelings.

If he were a genuine artist he would have thoughts and feelings of his own, and the impulse to give them objective form would be irresistible. An artist can no more withstand that impulse than a politician can withstand the temptations of a job.

H. L. Mencken
in the *New Republic*,
October 26, 1921

and the magazine began to lose personality, began to be less and less Mencken's *Mercury* but a sort of raffle barrel, a variety store.

Perhaps the 50-cent price was too steep for a time when there were applevendors on every corner of Fifth Avenue. Perhaps . . . perhaps. . . . Nobody really knows why one magazine dies, and another keeps on hobbling along. Why did *The Bookman die*— and why does *The Atlantic Monthly* live on? Why did *The Dial* pass out—and why does *Harper's* continue? *The Atlantic* and *Harper's* deserve to live on, but weren't *The Dial* and *The Bookman* also worthy periodicals? Of course they were, and for a while they were superb, but they died, and I don't believe anybody really knows why.

But some magazines die and are forgotten. Others die and are never forgotten. I don't think *The Mercury* will ever be forgotten. It was the mouthpiece of a whole era in American cultural histroy.

Despite all its faults, *The Mercury* was very much a part of its times, even of its century. It sold for fifty cents but anybody with twenty-five cents to spare could understand it and enjoy it, for *The Mercury* gloried in printing articles, stories and poems about all the people, so long as these articles were interesting. Through one side of his mouth Mencken prattled about the beauties of political aristocracy and of benevolent despotism, but through the other he would instruct me, "watch out especially for the manuscripts that come in, written in pencil, on butcher paper. The pearls of great price are to be found there, not in the fancy manuscripts, with pink and blue ribbons all about them. Read extra carefully all things, in prose or fiction, about the unknowns, the people who rub against you in the subway and on the street, the people you see as the train rushes along on the way to your lousy town, Boston. These people are worth all the politicians and all the preachers and all the moralists in Christendom. All art is about them and the still, small voice within them. They're all that matters."

Thus spoke the man who railed against the "booboisie." He was a man of contradictions and absurdities, and puerilities and even cheapness, but he was a great editor, and his *Mercury* was, all in all, a great magazine.

Charles Angoff was associated for ten years with H. L. Mencken on The American Mercury *and succeeded him as editor.*

Socialism Unexplained

THE OMENS attending Mr. Cole's project were favorable. He is a scholar of radical movements, a member of the Fabian Socialists to whom the Webbs and Bernard Shaw (and Clement Attlee in the present) owed allegiance, and the inventor of a new brand of socialism, Guild Socialism. He has written widely on Marxism, anarchism, the growth of the Labor Party in England, and English social and economic history.

And what period holds more fascination for the historian and the student of left-wing thought than the four decades 1850-1890, described in this volume? Marxist economics and historical doctrines, the notions of Bakunin and Kropotkin in Europe and of de Leon and Bellamy in this country, vied with each other for the affections of the discontented of all lands. And these ideas caused events: the movement toward an independent labor party in England, the assassination of a Czar, and the emergence of a powerful German Social Democratic Party, founded on sound Marxist doctrine.

Marxism and Anarchism, 1850-1890, by G. D. H. Cole (St. Martin's Press; $6.)

To say the least, this book falls short of its aim. It is intelligent, competently written, seldom tedious, well-informed, and enlightening. These are its virtues. But it is also very ill-organized, much as though its author wavered between centering his discourse on personalities as he did in his first volume, on external events such as party congresses or revolutionary actions (why a chapter for the Paris Commune?), on ideas as his title promises, or even on countries.

It would be easy for a reader who went to this book as a guide to the evolution of radical ideas to come away most confused—unable to understand why Marxism, the creed of a handful led by a cantankerous prophet in 1850, achieved its position of influence in Germany by 1890; or how the ideas of the anarchists, given almost as much space by Cole, failed in competition with those of Marx; or why, indeed, one radical personality or idea is more important than another.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

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CORRESPONDENCE

► British Press on America

[Regarding your] article on anti-American sentiment in the British press ["The British Press on 'The Yanks'," *NR*, August 23, 1954] you will not require any reminder from me that it would be easy to parallel these with anti-British declarations and distortions in American newspapers. Nor would a retort on those lines be a good answer to the case that is made.

The article can be criticized on other and sounder grounds: It draws the great majority of its instances from a small number of British newspapers. It does not fairly represent the newspapers that it names.

For example, the America Column of the *Daily Express* is said to lay "emphasis on the odd pieces of news, insignificant happenings, human interest anecdotes," so that "*Express* readers must begin to think of the US as a nation of millionaires, film stars, freaks, gangsters and eccentrics."

It may be admitted at once that *all* news lays its emphasis on the odd rather than on the normal. But this does not excuse Mrs. Hills from her failure to mention that the *Daily Express* America Column also deals with the larger issues of American politics. And, in addition, there is published a daily service of political, social, economic and general news from the United States. There is an editorial staff of four in New York and two in Washington for this purpose.

The *Daily Express* has recently inaugurated Anglo-American Study Groups throughout the land. These Study Groups meet for the purpose of discussing Anglo-American relations. Half a dozen meetings have already been held and many more are planned. On the platform at these meetings are distinguished American citizens in this country together with English Members of Parliament and prominent citizens. The meetings have not only been extraordinarily well attended but have also been widely reported in our columns as well as in the local newspapers.

There is no danger whatever of our readers thinking that Americans are anything but the serious-minded, peace-loving people that I know them to be.

The difficulty of presenting a full, balanced report of any happening pursues us all, especially when newsprint is in short supply.

If you are looking for an example of what I mean, you need not look beyond Mrs. Hills' account of the attack on American security checks at Burtonwood Base made at "his conference" by "Mr. T. H. Wells of the Customs and Excise, Port of London."

Stated like that, it would appear to a careless reader that Mr. Wells was speaking in his capacity as a Customs official. In fact he was addressing a conference of the Civil Service Clerical Association, a trade union. He was speaking to his fellow workers, as a branch delegate.

I do not complain about this, but it shows how hard it is, with the best intentions, to give a fair picture of events in a condensed form.

A. CHRISTIANSEN, Editor
The Daily Express
London

► Eisenhower's Liberalism

David Lawrence begins one of his newspaper columns with the statement: "The Republican Party is emerging as the liberal party of the nation, and President Eisenhower as the truly liberal leader." I have my doubts about Mr. Lawrence as an authority on liberalism, and I read on and discover that the President's liberalism consists in letting reactionary Republicans in Congress speak and vote as they please, and still endorsing them for re-election.

Tell me, is this as funny as I find it, or has my sense of humor been overdeveloped as a result of listening to Ike contradict himself once every week for a hundred weeks?

UPTON SINCLAIR
Monrovia, California

► Marcantonio's Career

My piece on Marcantonio ("No Requiem for Marcantonio, *NR*, August 23, 1954) was not essentially political, and I'm sorry Mr. Wilson saw in it only that. But his letter does reinforce one of the facets of Marcantonio's career: when the Communists were against WPA, Marc was against it; when the Communists were for WPA, Marc was for it; when the Communists were for collective security, Marc was for it; when the Communists turned against collective security, Marc was against it. Mr. Wilson supplies a final chapter to this: when the Communists launched their aggression in Korea, Marc was once more on their side. Also, when the Communists championed "progressive causes," Marc was their spokesman in Congress.

GUS TYLER
New York, N. Y.

► Morality and Foreign Policy

Gerald W. Johnson's "The Superficial Aspect" in the August 16 issue is superb and the clearest explanation of our nation's failure in global leadership.

"So we have laid aside the weapon of moral suasion," says Mr. Johnson. Europeans and Asiatics admire and respect the traditional "moral force" that used to be synonymous with USA; they long for it so desperately today.

OSCAR FLEISHAKER
Rock Island, Illinois

► Statesmen Under Rocks

Fascinating report by Mr. Straight ("Attlee in Peking," *NR*, September 6); but now, can you tell me where, under what rocks, our statesmen are hiding? In every other important, free nation, men in public life not only believe in the tactic of recognizing Red China, but they say so out loud. It's a subject for open, public debate. But not here.

Here not a single politician, in either party, dares to admit that a "reappraisal" of our Asian policy involving a different approach to China, is in order. No. Our policy is *settled;* and the result of this kind of rigidity is that a lot of other world problems are going to be settled —without us.

ALFRED LANSDALE
Washington, D. C.

MAGAZINE

SEMANTIC DIFFICULTIES IN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION—Lead article on international relations in current issue of **ETC.**, official journal of Int'l Society for General Semantics, edited by S. I. Hayakawa. Read how language forms tend to limit thought, behavior. $4 year; trial issue $1. Write Dept. 22, 400 W. North Ave., Chicago 10, Ill.

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New Republic

1824-26 JEFFERSON PLACE, NW WASHINGTON 6, DC

To Our Friends:

Earlier this year, for the first time in its 40 years of publishing, the editors of the New Republic appealed to the many friends of this journal throughout the nation to help it continue publication. In an open letter to readers and in individual letters to many others, the financial needs of the New Republic were frankly presented. It was pointed out that neither advertising revenues nor income from subscriptions had ever been adequate to carry a magazine of this kind, and that, with the termination of the single, family subsidy which had supported the New Republic since 1914, we faced a financial crisis. Some of America's most distinguished leaders, men such as Adlai Stevenson, Paul G. Hoffman, John S. Knight and Senator Paul Douglas, publicly supported our appeal for funds.

On April 15, the back cover of the New Republic announced that "We are half way there!" We said then how inspired we were by the hundreds of replies which had been received, encouraged not only by the contributions which had brought us within sight of our fund-raising goal, but by the warm support expressed in so many letters.

The campaign is over; and so is the crisis. We are pleased to report that the appeal exceeded our expectations, that the New Republic has been given a "new birth of freedom," that this magazine has an assured future. The amount of money already raised and the pledges of financial help through the coming years make continued publication of the New Republic certain.

Thank you. We will try, each week, to provide in this independent journal of opinion the information and interpretation which intellectually inquisitive readers want, and which all of us need in order to appreciate the variety of ideas and events of our age.

Michael Straight
Editor

Gilbert A. Harrison
Publisher

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